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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Johnson Program

WITH THE NATION in its state of shock, President Johnson's very first acts of office stressed his firm continuity with his predecessor. That was one of the elements which made the transition so smooth and efficient. But since the first few days our new President has been combining vigorous effort on the Kennedy program with a whirlwind campaign to develop support from important and representative national groups.

Despite Lyndon Johnson's reputation for energy and drive, newsmen appeared astounded by his manifold activities. His discussions with Negro leaders, top businessmen and labor executives and key members of both Houses came one upon another. He carried on various transactions on the way to work, at meals, by phone and in person, at his home and in his office. Mr. Johnson has left no question about his determination to achieve the key measures in the Kennedy domestic program.

At the same time Mr. Johnson has injected a new economy note into the proceedings. There appears to be little Washington can do about certain built-in cost increases. Interest on the national debt rises with the debt itself; the pay of government workers and servicemen is higher; there are new programs under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for job retraining and so forth. But if somehow Mr. Johnson can cut the annual budget increase from five billion to two or three, he will have won enthusiastic support from the American business community.

Economizing can have much to do with the fate of the $11-billion tax-cut bill upon which our late President set so much store for stimulating the economy and creating jobs that are badly needed. Harry Byrd, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, refused to report the bill out before the submission of the 1965 budget. President Johnson has now prevailed upon him to start hearings once he and his committee have had an advance look at the figures that are to be submitted to Congress.

But even with this concession on the President's part, the prospects for enactment in the near future are problematical. Senator Byrd's past record has to be taken into account. Besides, there is his present insistence on the delays of "regular procedure" and his warning that he will not vote for the tax cut unless the Administration holds the line against budget increases.

IN ANOTHER strategically placed Virginian, the octogenarian Howard W. Smith, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, the new President again encountered stiff resistance. After six months in the House Judiciary Committee, the Civil Rights Bill at last found its way to Rules. It has been languishing there for weeks due to Chairman Smith's refusal to call the necessary hearings. The best Mr. Johnson was able to obtain from a personal confrontation was that said hearings would begin "reasonably soon in January." Chairman Smith also favors "consideration [of the measure] in a calmer atmosphere than exists at present."

As if delaying tactics in House committees were not heinous enough in themselves, the Civil Rights bill when finally passed by the House has to go to the Senate. Here it is slated for an even rougher reception; a full-scale filibuster is scheduled by certain Southern Senators.

The obstacles to the enactment of such key bills indicate what President Johnson has to overcome if the Administration legislative program is to go through, and if he is to win wholehearted support in the all-important population centers. His tremendous energy, his warm friendships with important Congressional leaders, his need to establish quickly an effective image and his substantial experience in getting legislation through may not prevail.

There could hardly be a more deadly combination than the awarding of important committee

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chairmanships on a seniority basis and the frequent identification of such powerful Congressional veterans with one-party districts and one-party states. Their obstructionism often defies the will of the majority. The power of life and death over legislation wielded by the House Rules Committee (long under Chairman Smith) provides the most flagrant example. Repeated failures in the Senate to limit filibustering point up another major weakness.

Since the 1946 Congressional Reorganization Act there have been no major changes of procedure. Any proposed reforms would themselves have first to run the legislative gauntlet of current built-in obstructions. What hope is there that, with strong Presidential leadership, frustration over unconscionable delays over civil rights may lead to an impelling enough popular demand to bring about the needed changes?

Line of Succession

DESPITE a number of carefully worded pleas, Speaker McCormack has declined to propose a change in the line of Presidential succession. Though he has promised not to obstruct any such proposal made in Congress, it was naturally assumed that a bill to alter the succession would stand its best chance under McCormack's sponsorship.

It was probably too much to expect leadership here from McCormack, if only because much of the clamor for change comes from those who consider him incompetent to be President. Still, there is far more at stake here than the Speaker's pride. It is only fair to point out that he is not widely regarded as a man of Presidential caliber, that it was not the intent of Congress to place him a heartbeat away from the Presidency, and that there was considerable dispute even over his worthiness to become Speaker of the House.

The 1947 law, placing the Speaker first in line after the Vice President, seemed to make a certain amount of sense at the time. Heavy stress was laid on running the line of succession through elected officials—the Speaker of the House and President *Pro Tem* of the Senate—before turning to appointees of the cabinet. The fact that the Speaker of the time was Sam Rayburn enhanced the legislation and probably aided its passage.

But McCormack a heartbeat away from Johnson looks a good deal different from Rayburn a heartbeat away from Truman. The nation cannot afford to be so casual about who will succeed to the leadership of the government and of the Western world. Congress is usually touchy about passing *ad hoc* legislation, but there are powerful reasons for doing so even apart from the personalities that happen to be involved.

As a member of the legislative branch, the Speaker simply cannot be fully brought in on the thinking of the executive, as Nixon and Johnson are said to have been when serving as Vice President. President Johnson has acted to let Speaker McCormack sit in on meetings where the Speaker's presence would be "in no way inconsistent with his legislative responsibilities." But the very matters Johnson might feel inconsistent with the Speaker's legislative responsibilities could leave the nation vulnerable in the event of another Presidential death, particularly—as some are now beginning to ponder—if an assassination were planned to touch off a Soviet strike.

Then too a President could be expected to withhold even more if his legal successor were a man of a different political party. Even aside from the dangers involved in transferring power, there is a natural feeling that the succession should be kept within the same political party, for fairness as well as maximum continuity.

In the past weeks, the pre-1947 line of succession has come to look more and more attractive. The Secretary of State, as first successor after the Vice President, would seem to assure a continuity of vision within the same political party, and, on balance, would probably more often provide a successor of Presidential stature than does the present law. Other proposals would have the office of Vice President filled immediately, either by Presidential appointment, or by the vote of Congress or the electoral college. Some change, we feel, is indicated, preferably one that would assure succession without the necessity for a vote after the death of a President. In a crisis, the time wasted here could be costly indeed.

The Pope's Trip

WHEN at the closing of the second session of the Council Pope Paul announced that he would make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, his words were greeted with spontaneous applause. Had we been there, we would have applauded as well. For with the exception of the promulgation of the decree on the liturgy, the second session closed on many notes of confusion and disappointment. By the Pope's decision to visit Jerusalem, however, it became possible for the moment to forget these things.

There are many ways of interpreting this decision. In the most obvious sense, it is altogether

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fitting and proper that he should wish to walk on the same ground that Christ walked on nearly two thousand years ago. As a gesture of the Church's ultimate dedication and submission to Christ, it is direct and to the point. When one considers that, so far as is commonly known, no reigning Pope since Peter has ever made such a pilgrimage, its significance is all the more striking.

Inevitably, however, the Pope's trip will be important in many other respects. For one thing, it could do much to eradicate some of the doleful effects of the Council's failure to vote on that chapter of the ecumenical schema which concerns Jewish-Christian relations. While the full story of this failure is still not known, it was by almost all accounts one of the more flagrant cases of conservative maneuvering and delay. Fortunately the friendly response of the Israeli government and press to the visit of the Pope has already done much to counteract the possibility of bad feelings.

Of importance, too, is the fact that the Pope will spend some time on both sides of the Israeli-Jordan border. Though the United Arab Republic (in contrast with Jordan) has interpreted, and attacked, the trip as a sign of favoritism toward Israel, there seem to be no grounds whatsoever for the charge—unless it be that the Pope wishes the trip to signify the ties between Christianity and Judaism. No doubt he does and, even if the U.A.R. cannot understand this motive, the Pope could hardly be expected to hope for anything less.

Still, for all the importance of the trip for Jewish-Christian relations, the possibility of a "summit meeting" of the Christian leaders of the world in Jerusalem carries with it even more dramatic implications. At this point, it is not yet known how the Vatican will respond to the suggestion of Athenagoras I, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Eastern Orthodoxy, for such a meeting; but the preliminary signs are very promising. Regardless of what such a meeting could achieve concretely, there can be little doubt that it would serve to electrify the Christian world.

More than that, it would show, in the most compelling way possible at this point in history, that the Church has set aside some of its old fears about compromising its claims and its integrity. At one stroke, it would help rid the Catholic world of the notion that aloofness and haughty isolation are the proper trappings for the Church of Christ. At one stroke, it would help break that long tradition which has kept the Popes isolated in the Vatican; and, in a very real sense, isolated from the rest of the world.

Both the Church and the world have everything to gain from a conception of the papacy which, while centered in Rome, does not suggest it is limited to Rome; which is not afraid to see the Pope sit down with other Church leaders; which is not afraid to see the Pope travel—to see him move about, both as pontiff and human being, among those whom it is his duty to serve.

NEWS & VIEWS

Surpluses and Surpluses

SENATOR Harry Byrd of Virginia is both an unreconstructed Southerner and the largest apple grower in the world. As one of the most powerful members of the Senate, he has chosen to exercise that power particularly in the area which he calls "fiscal responsibility"—but which frustrated seekers of budget increases or tax cuts call penny pinching.

Whatever one thinks of Senator Byrd's fiscal philosophy everyone can applaud one job he does with quiet and efficient regularity. Every month he publishes in the *Congressional Record* the report of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures (of which he is also chairman) on federal stockpile inventories, including "surplus" agricultural commodities and so-called strategic and critical materials. The report is a forbidding array of columns, figures and footnotes printed in tiny type, but for one who has the patience and the eyesight to study it carefully, it reveals some fascinating, but little-known, facts.

I am sure, for instance, that not many people know castor oil is listed as a "strategic and critical material" and that the federal stockpile holds almost 200 million pounds of this lubricant, acquired at the cost to taxpayers of over $50 million. Senator Byrd's most recent report (for the month ending June 30, 1963) also reveals that in the same stockpile, presumably because they too are strategic and critical materials, the Government holds nine million pounds of feathers and down, 195 thousand pounds of opium, 766 thousand ounces of platinum and seventeen million pounds of shellac. There are even 31,000 tons of "celestite," whatever that heavenly material might be.

Interesting—and puzzling—though these facts might be, they fade into insignificance before some of the other entries in the report. So, for instance, as of June 30, the stockpile held just short of two million tons of aluminum which cost taxpayers $925 million, over 75 percent of which is rated as "excess over maximum objective"—in other words, surplus. In addition, the Government had on hand over six-

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teen million tons of several grades and types of bauxite (aluminum ore) valued at $256 million, of which some forty per cent is considered surplus; 8,830,000 tons of chromite ore, worth close to $600 million; 103 million pounds of cobalt, costing $223 million; and so on through copper, manganese, rubber, nickel, tin, tungsten and zinc.

In all, 94 items are listed in the stockpile inventory, the total cost of which to taxpayers has been $8,654,000,000. Moreover, in a majority of the categories there is an oversupply vastly in excess of *maximum* objectives, i.e., "military, industrial and other essential needs in the event of a conventional war emergency." What might be needed in case of all-out nuclear war no one has yet been able to determine. The striking thing about this huge, and largely unnecessary, stockpile is that most taxpayers, who foot the bill, simply know nothing about it.

In contrast, no one could possibly be unaware of the much smaller stockpile of agricultural commodities, an inventory of which is also given in Senator Byrd's monthly reports. For the same month from which the above data has been taken, farm "surpluses" in Government hands had the total value of $4,843,000,000. There were 492 million bushels of corn costing $603 million; 4,135,000 bales of cotton worth $714 million; 1,082,000,000 bushels of wheat at $2,167,000,000; 633 million bushels of grain sorghum at $695 million; 380 million pounds of butter at $220 million, and 706 million pounds of dried milk at $104 million. These six items accounted for close to ninety percent of the whole Government agricultural stockpile.

It is not easy to judge the relative need and value of the so-called strategic materials, though there have been occasional rumbles in Washington about alleged irregularities in procuring and storing the stockpiles. It has also been charged that in some respects the whole program is little more than a price support and surplus-removal operation financed by the taxpayers under the guise of national security. This sounds, of course, like the line of criticism usually directed at the farm program and *its* so-called surpluses. The puzzling fact is that those who use this line against the latter (including the powerful American Farm Bureau Federation) never have a word of criticism for the strategic materials stockpile program. This despite the fact that, unlike the case for the mineral stockpiles, it is easy to justify the need and the value of the agricultural stockpile.

In recent weeks, it has been overwhelmingly obvious that our so-called agricultural surpluses are one of this country's most valuable resources, both in peace and in war. The negotiations by Russia and its satellites to purchase huge quantities of wheat and other grains have removed all doubt about that. One could readily contemplate fighting either a hot or a cold war without a stockpile of feathers, opium, shellac, and even celestite. But this nation's pre-eminence in peace or war is secured and enhanced by our having on hand an abundant supply of wheat, cotton, feed grains and dairy products.

JAMES L. VIZZARD, S.J.

(Father Vizzard is the Director of the Washington Office of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.)

REPORT FROM ROME

The Council—Right and Left

OLDTIMERS at the Vatican have a saying: don't try to change Rome; if you do, in the end it will be Rome that changes you. This saying, which will be quoted again and again among the "conservatives," or, as Paul VI prefers to call them, "those who are against reforms," is buttressed by Vatican history. Time and again, high foreign churchmen have arrived in Rome determined to change it and in the end became more "curialized" than the Italians themselves. The Curia will never be really internationalized, they say, but foreigners, wherever they come from, will gradually become as Roman as the Curia. And when exceptions are mentioned—Pope Paul VI and Cardinal Bea, for example, both long-time members of the Curia but eager reformers in spite of it—the reply will be simply that they are too few. They are exceptions that prove the rule.

The traditional Curia has undoubtedly lost even this second session of the Council. But it has not lost hope. Some of its representatives have a sardonic remark: What is the definition of the ecumenical spirit? To be convinced that every other denomination is better than your own. Others repeat the words of a German Protestant churchman at the time of Bismarck, ruthless words which are rarely quoted today: tolerance is nothing but the rotten fruit of indifference.

Still others quote the objections of Evelyn Waugh to the present trend in the Council: Why this Catholic *"aggiornamento"* to the evil time in which we are living? On the contrary, they say, it is our duty to stress more than ever that we are against it and condemn it; a majority is not always right, simply because it is a majority; majorities have often proved to be completely blind and have sometimes brought disaster.

Exactly as Waugh does, these objectors note a de-

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creasing number of conversions to Catholicism among sympathetic Protestants. They simply do not believe in unification on a collective basis. With the best will in the world, they say, after having made our Catholic *mea culpa*, we will be unable to come down to bargaining on dogmatic essentials; we will in the end only cause misunderstanding among Protestants, who will become convinced that the new trend is just a hoax, as writers like Paul Blanshard—now in Rome—are rumored to be trying to prove.

The strange thing is that these objections find supporters both among converts from Protestantism and among Catholic churchmen from the Communist countries, who see no possibility for a compromise with a mortal enemy like Communism. Many of the converts are strongly anti-Protestant and have chosen Catholicism precisely because of the differences and at great sacrifice. The well-known slogan of the "progressives" at the Council—"No more Counter Reformation, but co-reformation"—makes no sense to most of them. "Why did I become a Catholic," they say, "if Catholics and Protestants are now going to co-reform themselves in view of a possible reunification or at least converge instead of diverging?" For them Evelyn Waugh said the right word at the right moment.

AND HOW does the Council appear from the left? Pope Paul VI benefits from the extraordinary breakthrough made on this side by Pope John. It is generally felt that he is more cautious towards Communism than Pope John, but he is practically never criticized in the Communist press, which continues to cover the Council with the greatest interest, quoting at length its favorite cardinals, bishops and theologians. Indeed, practically all criticism of the Council comes from the right.

The contradiction between a Communist press on the one hand officially ignoring religion as a "vanishing superstition," and on the other hand taking sides during an Ecumenical Council, has naturally disturbed many rank and file Italian Communists and many others besides. From time to time letters to the editor appear in Communist periodicals asking for guidance. Is religion, as Marx said, "the opiate of the people" and as such to be fought ruthlessly, or is there a change in some way? These are the questions they raise. During the last congress of the Communist Party earlier this year, an authoritative statement on religion was expected, but it did not materialize, probably because of the Chinese question, so the rank and file keep asking questions.

A statement recently made by the Italian bishops, only faintly reminiscent of their anti-Communist statements during the pontificate of Pius XII, was widely commented on and analyzed in the Communist press. The Italian bishops have realized, said one writer, that there is distinction to be made between atheistic Communism and just plain Communism, and that militant anti-religious activity is nowadays a thing of the past. A reply came from another writer, asking for more consistency and stressing that Communism is and remains actively anti-religious. The last word, however, was permitted to the first writer, who maintained that primitive anti-religious propaganda belongs to the past. Today, his conclusion was, the religious problem is "bypassed" *(superato)* by present-day Communism, more or less in the same way as it is by the Social-Democratic governments of northern Europe, i.e., no active anti-religious activity, but a sort of indifferent tolerance.

This conclusion brought further discussions among the readers, well aware of the fact that the voters for the Communist Party in Italy stick to their religion more or less in the same way as many other Italians do. Distinctions were made between party and state in the Communist countries, the party remaining atheistic in principle, the state being agnostic, with a live-and-let-live attitude toward religion. This was, of course, only an attempt to dissolve the contradiction, but it shows the tendency. It is noteworthy that the Communist Party in Italy, the biggest one outside the Eastern bloc and very much aware that the Vatican is the spiritual home of the largest Christian community in the world, has abstained more consistently than any other Communist party from anti-religious activity. It is noteworthy too that one Communist MP and member of the central committee, Marisa Rodano, is said to be a practicing Catholic.

On face value, all this could be considered simply a tactical move or a mere acknowledgment of Pope John's distinction between error itself and those who are in error yet act in good faith. But everything indicates it is not just that. Rather, it is the abandonment of a method which has proved less efficient—persecution of religion as such—in favor of a method which might prove more efficient: indifferent tolerance of the welfare state type.

Several years ago, during a stay in the Soviet Union, I discussed this matter with a group of young Russian Communists. They recognized that the rough handling of religion in Communist nations often had the opposite result of what was intended. At the same time they proved to be surprisingly well informed about the religious situation in the welfare states of northern Europe, demonstrating a remarkable ability to quote the pertinent statistics. To them the de-Christianization of these countries, which they felt surpassed by far that of their own country, seemed an encouraging example. In the end one of them paid what he probably thought was a compliment to me as a Swede. In that respect we have much to learn from you, he said. As far as religion is concerned, you have achieved better results than us. Your methods have proved more efficient.

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

(Mr. Kumlien is The Commonweal's regular correspondent in Rome.)

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The American Layman

EVEN at the risk of embarrassing a valued colleague and friend, this seems a good occasion to talk about Daniel Callahan's invaluable *The Mind of the Catholic Layman,* recently published by Scribners. The voices of dissent may still be heard from, I suppose, but offhand I can't remember a book which received such a favorable send-off from reviewers.

In these pages, for example, Monsignor John Tracy Ellis wrote that he "knows of no book that brings to this delicate theme a comparable knowledge, a sounder analysis of the basic issues, and a deeper reverence and concern for all that pertains to the welfare of the Catholic community of the country." Robert Hoyt of the *Catholic Reporter* called it "a candid, intelligent, balanced, penetrating, timely and supremely useful book." And Bishop Leo A. Pursley of Fort Wayne-South Bend described it in *Our Sunday Visitor* as "a good book, honestly and ably written, well researched and documented, absorbingly interesting. . . ."

I like most about the book what I suppose should be called its existential quality. It is quite possible to discuss a theology of the layman purely in the abstract, taking off from the importance of Baptism and Confirmation and going on from there—indeed, some say this should be our primary emphasis. Mr. Callahan, however, does not do this. He does not slight theory, but he does situate it firmly in American historical context. He is concerned not just with the impact of Catholicism upon America, but, turning the matter around, with the effect of American ideas on the thinking of Catholics. The result is a particularly useful consideration of the layman's past, present and possible future in the Church in America.

Have American ideas—*the* American idea—affected the thinking of Catholics on the Church? In my view there is no doubt of it, and, like Orestes Brownson, I think the Church must take this fact into account. Wrote Brownson: "Under the American system, she [the Church] can deal with people as free men, and trust them as free men, because free men they are. . . . Blind obedience even to the authority of the Church cannot be expected of the people reared under the American system, not because they are filled with a spirit of disobedience, but because they insist that obedience shall be *rationabile obsequium,* an act of the understanding, not of the will or the affections alone." The kind of obedience the Church should seek from the layman, Brownson argued, was an intelligent, free, and willing obedience—" the obedience of a free man, not of a slave"—and this, he argued, is far more consonant with the spirit of the Church and far more acceptable to God than simply blind obedience.

If I read Mr. Callahan correctly, here is one of his central points. In the ill-fated trustee controversy of the last century, for example, many of the excesses involved seem to have been inspired by an overly hasty, poorly digested effort to apply American political ideas to the internal affairs of the Church. Even at that time, however, an astute priest remarked: "These people yield a willing obedience to authority when exercised coolly and with mildness, but if their feelings and opinions are treated with violent and contemptuous disregard, they become obstinate and incorrigible."

There are those, I imagine, who will be shocked at the notion that the American experience has something to do with how we visualize our role in the Church. I do not see why they should be, though. The Church has obviously been influenced by the political and social structures in which she found herself in all kinds of ways—witness the fact that we still address a Bishop as "Your Excellency" and kiss his episcopal ring, practices which date from historic political circumstances rather than from any consideration of the essential nature of the episcopacy. For my part, although we still have among us at this late date in history some die-hard Constantinians, I would be willing to argue that the democratic idea best exemplifies in the political order the Christian conception of the dignity of the human person. But even leaving this aside, why should it be claimed that feudalism and the age of kings could leave their marks on the Church but that the democratic experience should make no contribution?

No, Mr. Callahan is surely right. The teaching authority of the Church will always remain, but the political and social framework in which we live is bound to influence our views on participation in the life of the Church, and I see nothing wrong in this. What would be wrong would be to ignore the need for taking this new factor into account. For those who might be so tempted, a quote from an unidentified, obviously pre-ecumenical layman in an 1888 issue of the *Catholic World* is well worth meditating on:

"One flagrant error of Protestantism is that it reduces religion to a purely personal and private matter . . . the logical end of which tendency is the denial of the objective reality of religious truth. . . . The query is: Would not a tendency toward the same lamentable end arise from a condition of things which more and more had the effect of separating the great body of the Catholic laity from active participation in the institutional phases of religion?"

Despite the pejorative comment on Protestantism, this is a real danger, one that is even more worth thinking about now than in the last century. JAMES O'GARA

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The Entire Question of Woman's Position Desperately Needs Reconsideration

Women and the Church

ROSEMARY LAUER

WHATEVER its final pronouncements, the Second Vatican Council has certainly shown its willingness to make changes. Recently there have been indications that some Council Fathers are willing to see some changes made even in the attitude of the Church (which is all of us) toward women. On October 22 Cardinal Suenens, in an address to the Council, proposed the desirability of inviting a number of women to attend the conciliar sessions along with the lay auditors already present. His speech was applauded. Moreover, the NC news service reported, it was known on reliable authority that Pope Paul had brought up the question of including women when the list of lay auditors had been submitted for his approval. At about the same time Cardinal Suenens made his proposal, Mlle. Monique Lahaye, president of the Catholic Women Workers League in France, was a guest speaker before a gathering of 120 French cardinals, archbishops, and bishops. A short time later, Melkite Bishop Georges Hakim of Galilee objected in the Council that the schema on the Church had ignored women completely though they make up half the membership of the Church and "their work is indispensable in the apostolate of the Church." Again, there was applause in the aula of St. Peter's.

However, this new look at women had not yet filtered down to the petty officials in the basilica. The November 16 issue of *America* reports that an accredited journalist invited to be present at one of the Council Masses was physically prevented from approaching the altar railing to receive Holy Communion with the others. "What was the offense that provoked this vigorous police action? The journalist was a woman."

How could such a thing happen? As is the case with almost everything else that occurs in today's world, this "police action" can be understood only in a historical context. We in the West have inherited certain traditions in the areas of thought and practice, and according to these traditions women ought to be treated differently from men. Nor has there been any successful attempt to rationalize the traditional practices with anything like a "separate but equal" theory. Despite all the fine romantic statements about woman's place being on a pedestal, the roots of our tradition require that women be given a "separate" treatment because they are *not* equal, because they are *inferior*.

Jews at the time of Christ—and at least the Orthodox today—prayed regularly, "I thank thee, Lord, that thou hast not created me a woman." There was no problem that women would find it difficult to recite the prayer, for women were simply not expected to learn the prayer formulas—or the Scriptures, or anything else, except how to discharge their domestic duties. In Palestine two thousand years ago, as in many areas in the East and Middle East today, no man would deign to speak with a woman in public, not even his own wife.

THE DISCIPLES who found Jesus speaking with the Samaritan woman at the well were not amazed merely because she was a Samaritan. Did they not all know the words of Ecclesiasticus, "In woman was sin's beginning, and because of her we all die"? We can see too in the Gospels that the "double standard" was in force. The "woman taken in adultery" was brought to Christ for judgment, but nowhere do we hear of the man in the case. In fact, Jewish law prescribed punishment only for women in such instances. The wife's duty to be faithful to her husband was regarded as immeasurably greater than his duty to be faithful to her. Indeed, the wife was thought to have no genuine *right* to her husband's faithfulness. (A New York *Times* dispatch from Rome, dated November 28, reports that Italy's High Constitutional Court upheld a law that imposes a severer punishment on women than men for adultery. The law, the Court maintained, was justly based on the "greater gravity of infidelity of the woman.")

In the thirteenth century, the old tradition was still being carried on, even in so mild a man as St. Bonaventure. In his Rules for Novices he wrote, "Shun the society of women as you would a snake and never speak with a woman unless necessity compels you. Do not look at any woman's face, and if any woman speaks to you cut her off as quickly as possible." Three hundred years later, St. Robert Bellarmine wrote that there were three classes of people who could grasp no more of theology than the sound of the words. These classes were country folk, idiots, and women.

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However, what has been, perhaps, the most potent force shaping a "Catholic" attitude toward women is the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition, which is in harmony with at least half of a Russian proverb: "A hen is not a bird, nor a woman a human being." Last year, when Dr. Gertrude Heinzelmann, a lawyer in Zurich, Switzerland, dispatched to the Central Preparatory Commission of the Vatican Council her *Frau und Konzil, Hoffnung und Erwartung*, she based her arguments on a critical exposition of the Thomistic view of woman. And, in truth, if an *aggiornamento* is to occur with respect to the place of women in society and the Church, it is absolutely necessary that we understand what St. Thomas wrote and why he wrote it. It is not sufficient —though it is pertinent—to point out that he entered a monastery at the age of five, and that, therefore, anything he had to say about women had its foundation in a "Wollfian rationalism" rather than a scientific induction.

AS DR. Heinzelmann points out so clearly, it was Aristotle's rationalistic biology that made it possible for St. Thomas to make statements which appear so completely ridiculous to any Western contemporary who has not been indoctrinated with a scholastic anti-feminism. Woman, according to Aristotle, was not completely developed as a human being; she was a "misbegotten," or defective, male. This was made evident in two ways. First of all, women were merely passive in human generation (the discovery of the ovum had to await the invention of the microscope); only men could truly pass on human nature to their offspring. Women, in fact, offered a resistance to the implantation of the human form; and if the father was not sufficiently virile to overcome this resistance completely, his offspring might resemble their mother, thus presenting all their lives a silent testimony to their father's inadequacy.

The second piece of evidence that women were misbegotten was their inability to reason. Since the human species is characterized by *rationality*, women must not be fully human. The fiction of "feminine intuition" disposed of those instances in which women seemed to do something suspiciously resembling reasoning.

From this defective Aristotelian biology, reinforced by an equally defective interpretation of Genesis, there followed for St. Thomas certain ethical principles: "Man is the principle and end of woman, as God is the principle and end of man." "Woman exists for the man, not man for the woman." Lest it be thought that these principles lie safely hidden away on obscure library shelves, it must be noted that these notions *are* taught currently in some Catholic schools. In one college, women students were told recently in their theology class that "the end of man is to know; the end of woman is to bear children." And, of course, according to Aristotle and St. Thomas, the only reason why nature would produce "misbegotten males" is that they are somehow, and unfortunately, necessary for the continuance of the human race.

Even aside from the primitive, rationalistic nature of the biology borrowed from Aristotle, there is good reason to object to St. Thomas' doctrine on women. As Dr. Heinzelmann so clearly notes, his Aristotelian teachings contradict other Thomistic doctrines. For example, there can be, according to St. Thomas, no greater or less degree of possession of an essence; therefore, woman is either as fully human as man or she is not human at all. While a monastic-bred St. Thomas might have been willing to grant the second alternative, this would have presented insuperable difficulties in the area of theology. Consistency, therefore, would have required him to maintain, against Aristotle, that woman *is* fully human.

Again, according to Aristotelian theory, only the male, possessing human nature in it fullness, is able to communicate the "form" of humanity to his offspring. But St. Thomas, in his psychology, equates the form with the soul, which, according to Catholic teaching, is given by God, not by the human parents. Moreover, the same being that confers the form, says St. Thomas, confers the act of existence, and only God can confer existence. These are, incidentally, just a few of the many instances in which St. Thomas is caught between the consequences of his Aristotelian philosophy of nature and the demands of his own theology or metaphysics.

One may easily show that St. Thomas' metaphysical position absolutely demands that all differences between beings of the same species be regarded as "accidents." Consequently, to maintain scientifically—in St. Thomas' sense of this term—that women are such and such by *nature* requires that one show that a certain "accident" or set of "accidents" which belong to all women and to no men (the physical organs of generation, which are what they are by reason of "accidents," would fulfill this requirement) are the necessary cause of at least one other accident. Then this accident would be "natural" to women.

To date, no one has ever produced this type of demonstration that any manner of acting, any particular degree of intellectual ability, or any special emotional makeup is "natural" to women. Indeed, such a demonstration is impossible, for women, as a matter of *fact*, differ markedly in these characteristics. The statement, frequently made, that women should act in accordance with their nature is one of those pious platitudes which satisfy the thoughtless, but it has no possible meaning within an authentically Thomistic context; the only nature woman has is *human* nature.

However, there are two other sources of a conception of woman's "nature": Scripture and social custom. Until the very recent past, the account of woman's creation in Genesis was almost universally interpreted as

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indicating woman's God-imposed inferiority and subjection. Today, however, it is the general opinion of biblical scholars that what Genesis was intended to teach was, in fact, the opposite notion; namely, that woman, being flesh of man's flesh and bone of his bone, was of the same nature as he, equal to him. It is significant that in one of the two accounts of creation in Genesis we are told simply, "God created man in his image. In the image of God he created him. Male and female he created them."

But there seems to have been through the centuries a very understandable tendency to interpret Scripture in the light of what "everyone knew" to be true. Since "everyone knew" that women were inferior, it was easy to read this inferiority into Genesis, just as it was easy, for centuries, to read into Scripture an approbation of slavery or a doctrine of papal temporal sovereignty. Inasmuch as there exists no *official* interpretation of St. Paul's passages concerning women—just as there exists no official interpretation of the pertinent passages in Genesis—one can at least hope that once "everybody knows" women are not inferior or naturally subject to men it will be seen that St. Paul did not intend to teach that they are.

THE OTHER source of a conception of woman's "nature"—social custom—must also be examined in the light of reason. The fact that "we have always done things this way" can be regarded only by the uncritical as sufficient reason for our continuing to do things this way. The fact that women have "always" been restricted to hearth and home is no reason why Valentina Tereshkovna should not go barreling about our globe in a spaceship, even though this did cause considerable embarrassment to our American male astronauuts. The fact that we have never had a woman President in the United States is no reason why Margaret Chase Smith should not aspire to that office. Women's having always been excluded from the rabbinate provides no valid evidence that the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods was foolish in asking at its convention in November that Reform Judaism consider ordaining women as rabbis. In fact, in 1922 the Central Conference of American Rabbis declared that "women cannot justly be denied the privilege of ordination."

Nor is "it has never been done" a sufficient argument against ordaining women to the Catholic priesthood. As Dr. Heinzelmann, drawing upon St. Thomas' psychology and metaphysics, pointed out in her *Frau und Konzil*, woman's soul does not differ from man's and therefore can receive the sacramental character of ordination as well as his. Acting on this premise, the St. Joan's International Alliance, founded in 1931, resolved at its annual meeting in Fribourg this year "that diaconal duties be entrusted to women as well as men if the diaconate is restored as a permanent ministry" and "that women would be willing and eager to respond if the Church extends the priesthood to them."

And we must ask in all seriousness, why should the Church not do so? The cultural and historical reasons for which women have been excluded no longer justify such an exclusion. Moreover, there is undoubtedly much that women could contribute to the Church through the priesthood. And those who, in the past, have been sure that they could never adjust to having a woman in this or that position in society have always managed to adjust when it became necessary. Those Russian men, for example, who would have died rather than go to a woman physician doubtlessly by now have done so—died or gone.

If we do not take a long, cold look at our images of femininity and masculinity—imposed by social custom—we may find ourselves pushed into many undesirable situations, some of them much more detrimental to men than to women. Take the problem of homosexuality for example. It has been stated seriously that women, by wearing slacks, have made it difficult for men to distinguish clearly between man and woman; and, in their confusion, some men have formed homosexual relationships. Well, anyone unable to tell whether slacks are being filled out by a masculine or feminine physique is either myopic or seriously deficient in some of the fundamentals of ornithology and apiology.

What seems more likely is this: our society requires of a man that he be bigger, braver, and more intelligent than the woman with whom he becomes linked, and that he be capable of dominating her and asserting his superiority over her. As women become more and more self-sufficient, more and more capable, and less and less afraid of mice—or space travel—it becomes more and more difficult for many men to conform to the accepted image of masculinity. Those who tend to unthinking conformity find themselves facing a most frustrating experience, the frustration being increased by the fact that it operates on the level of the unconscious. For those who cannot endure the pressure, and for the nonconformists, homosexuality is a way out.

Of course, the healthy "way out" would be to recognize the pressures which are operative and to acknowledge the absurdity of the images which give rise to them. For women, the whole problem is much easier; it takes no genius to pretend to be weak, timid, and stupid. But it is rather difficult for some women to admire men who make such pretense expedient.

Perhaps this difficulty of pretending explains the phenomenon that, while many women are ready and anxious for cultural changes, others cling emotionally and tenaciously to the old notions of feminine inferiority and dependence. If a woman wishes to please men in our culture she must ordinarily either genuinely think that she conforms to the traditional image or she must

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pretend to. And our society exerts tremendous pressure on women to please men; in fact, it exerts tremendous pressure on little girls to please little boys.

To one who thinks seriously about these things, it seems very clear that the entire question of woman's position in society and in the Church needs desperately to be reconsidered in the light of the most recent findings of Scripture scholars, biologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and historians. Great strides have been made in all these areas, but it remains to synthesize the results and present a quite new picture of women and a corresponding program of action.

As for the theory, Pope John, in his *Pacem in Terris,* laid the cornerstone: "It is obvious to everyone that women are now taking a part in public life. This is happening more rapidly, perhaps, in nations of Christian civilization, and more slowly but broadly, among peoples who have inherited other traditions or cultures. Since women are becoming ever more conscious of their human dignity. they will not tolerate being treated as mere material instruments, but demand rights befitting a human person both in domestic and in public life." "Human beings have the right to choose freely the state of life which they prefer, and therefore the right to set up a family, with equal rights and duties for man and woman."

As for the program of action, perhaps the present Council will pay some attention to the resolutions of the St. Joan's Alliance and to Dr. Heinzelmann's *Frau und Konzil.* Indeed, there is every reason why it should.

Erhard Takes Over

A Foam Rubber Lion?

ADOLPH SCHALK

THE NEW Chancellor of the German Federal Republic and the second leader of the German people since Hitler, Ludwig Erhard, has already been tagged with a variety of nicknames. His friends and followers affectionately call him *Onkel Ludi* or *Der Dicke* (the fat one). His critics have dubbed him *Schaumgummi Löwe* (foam rubber lion) because of his docility in the face of the scorn that former Chancellor Adenauer repeatedly heaped upon his ability to serve as Chancellor. Others again disparagingly call him a *Weihnachtsmann,* a naïve Santa Claus ever ready to reach down into his sack of prosperity to distribute assorted goodies to his *kinder.*

The appellations, at any rate, differ sharply from Adenauer's nickname, *Der Alte* (the old man). Austere, crusty and authoritarian, Adenauer was a more fitting symbol of the immediate post-war era and the Spartan measures Germany needed to rise from the ashes. Erhard, with his cheerful, owl-like features, his ample figure, perpetual cigar and ebullient personality, would indeed qualify for that beard and red suit at Macy's. He is truly the symbol of West Germany's regained prosperity.

Erhard has also been called a typical German. But just what is a "typical" German? As a person closely associated with the group that plotted to assassinate Hitler, he is completely free of the Nazi stigma. (Erhard in fact drafted an elaborate economic program for post-Hitler Germany. He submitted it to the group and, almost miraculously, escaped detection by the Gestapo.) He is unabashedly patriotic but without nationalistic arrogance and completely lacks the kind of guilt-ridden feeling of inferiority that has become fashionable among many older breast-beating Germans. He has a penchant for the resounding phrase and long-winded speeches, but there is not a trace of the demagogue in him. His fiscal policies as Economics Minister made the restoration of the *Bundeswehr* possible, yet it is hard to imagine a person less militaristic.

Credited more than anyone else with West Germany's prosperity, Erhard himself cares little about money, has simple tastes and shares with his wife, Luise, a small, unpretentious house in a quiet residential district of Bonn which cannot accommodate more than a dozen guests. "We still have some of the same furniture we began our married life with," Mrs. Erhard has said. Erhard likes to poke fun at his girth and claims he is neither a heavy eater or drinker, "but I like wine, beer, champagne, and I don't have anything against cognac, either."

Erhard never graduated from a *gymnasium* and yet he is a university professor. He completely lacks the German love and ability for organization, yet has shown a brilliant administrative flair. He is not power

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conscious. He is not a strong partisan and has an intense dislike for political infighting. "I have no political ambitions and, least of all, any of a partisan political nature," he said in a speech fifteen years ago, immediately after he had made the now legendary decision to eliminate price and rationing controls. This decision, a calculated risk which led a shattered and occupied Germany to recovery and industrial power, thrust Erhard into the political prominence he sought to avoid.

"For justice' sake," Erhard wrote in a recent book, "I should not conceal that, to put it humorously, I am an American discovery, and that without assistance from this side I would not have succeeded in carrying through, against all obstacles, the currency and economic reform on a liberal basis." "It is impossible to exaggerate," he said elsewhere, "how much German reconstruction owes to the American Administration's farsighted policy of foreign aid, and to the understanding and altruism of the American taxpayer who had to foot the bill."

Erhard's accession has brought about a change of emphasis in the delicate religious issue that is woven into the fiber of the ruling political party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Bi-confessional in concept as well as structure, the party has an unwritten rule, called *proporz* (proportion), that the division of cabinet posts between Catholics and Protestants must be roughly even, as is the division by religion in the nation as a whole. Erhard, as a Protestant, but one who abhors confessional bickering, has restored confessional balance to the party, for under Adenauer it was decidedly Catholic-dominated.

Although he is an outspoken individualist when he wants to be, Erhard puts great emphasis on teamwork and rule by committee, so much so that some critics fear that he will not be forceful enough to put the stamp of his character onto a period of history and that, consequently, there won't even be an "Erhard era." There is a hard core of Christian Democratic leaders, known as "Group 47," who voted against his nomination as Chancellor, and who are determined to maintain Adenauer's policies. "Erhard as a politician," one of them recently told a reporter, "is a nonentity."

"After a zero always comes a Nero," writes the well-known publicist Gösta von Uexküll in the Swiss weekly, *Zürcher Woche,* seeing in the rotund figure little more than a blank circle. People abhor a vacuum, he goes on to say, and Erhard has done little so far to offset the widespread opinion that he is a weak leader. In some circles there is considerable disappointment that Erhard allowed himself to be so easily persuaded to accept the cabinet, almost identical with that of Adenauer, thrust upon him by the party. There are reservations about the choice of Erich Mende, leader of the Free Democrats, as Vice Chancellor (but not thereby heir apparent), because of his alleged nationalistic leanings, as well as with the retention of the Minister of the Interior, Hermann Hoecherl, whose involvement in the recent wire tapping controversy has been unsatisfactorily explained. Most of all, there is widespread concern that an Erhard defeat in the 1965 elections would leave the door wide open for a dramatic comeback by the discredited former Defense Minister, Franz Josef Strauss. Von Uexküll warns that Erhard's successor may not necessarily go by the name of Strauss, and he implies that other strong men with similar alleged demagogic inclinations are waiting in the wings.

HOWEVER THAT may be, the fact remains that Erhard is immensely popular. Even though some party members talk of him as an interim Chancellor, he is the only man of sufficient stature who promises to offset the party's downhill trend in recent elections, and who has a chance against the dynamic Socialist leader, Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin, his probable opponent in 1965.

As far as Erhard's softness is concerned, his past record shows that he can be very adamant when the need arises. Surely it required great courage in June of 1948 to abolish price controls against the wishes of the occupation powers and those of his own advisers, especially since immediately afterward prices began to skyrocket and didn't level off for months. Erhard also showed great firmness when, as Economics Minister at the beginning of the Korean crisis, he refused to give in to Chancellor Adenauer's demands to reintroduce bread rationing. Later, against the strongest opposition, Erhard stubbornly pushed through the revaluation of the D-mark. (On the other hand, his moral pleas for "moderation" during a recent inflationary spiral had little success and he failed completely in his efforts to have anti-cartel laws passed or to prevent the Volkswagen works from raising their prices.)

What can be expected in foreign policy under Erhard's leadership?

It is too early to judge; he simply has not been in office long enough. The public statements he has made thus far indicate a greater flexibility, but no basic departures from Adenauer's course. "I feel pledged to the cause of democracy and the strength of the spirit," Erhard said in his acceptance speech to the Bundestag October 18. "My policy is one of the middle way and of understanding."

The biggest problem that Erhard faces is of course the perennial one of reunification. Thanks to Adenauer, West German policy for fourteen years has been one of close alliance with the United States and the West. This policy has been based on the assumption that the threat of Communism in Europe could best be met from a position of military strength, backed by nuclear power. Reluctantly, at the insistence of the Allies, West Germany revived its armed forces, so that today with

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eleven divisions and 420,000 men it is the strongest European military force (though, it should be noted, the only European force totally integrated within NATO). This policy, it was hoped, would ultimately lead to reunification. At least, as far as the Germans were concerned, the German problem lay at the very heart of Western defense.

Living as close as they do to the Iron Curtain, the West Germans are understandably very nervous about even the remotest hint that the U.S. might withdraw troops from West Germany. They are particularly uneasy over the implications of the widely heralded "Operation Big Lift," which airlifted an entire division from Texas to West Germany in record time, and General Eisenhower's suggestion that the United States gradually pull five divisions out of Europe.

The biggest nightmare of all is that the gradual rapprochement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union might lead to a settlement of the German question over the heads of the West Germans. There are many Western observers on the other hand who also fear a possible nightmare: someday, not under Erhard and probably not under his successor, but someday, the Germans might be tempted, in the interests of reunification, especially if they feel betrayed by the West (which they do, as a matter of fact, alarmingly often), to seek a settlement of their own with Russia, or even to shift allegiances altogether. Farfetched as this may seem, history has shown far too many parallels to rule out such a possibility. No one knows better than the Germans—and the Russians—that reunification and the possibility of freeing the seventeen million East Germans from the Communist yoke is a matter that only the Russians can decide. Yet few German politicians will admit publicly—it would be political suicide—that reunification under the present circumstances is more than a distant dream.

Clearly Erhard faces a dilemma of schizophrenic proportions. Fourteen years of Adenauer's inflexible policy has if anything pushed reunification further away. For years the Germans have been told that all they need to do is stay quiet and be loyal to NATO, and good old Uncle Sam will do the rest. Today Erhard is up against a mutual restlessness. The Americans are tired of carrying the bulk of the defense load, while the Germans, especially the new crop of young, cold, sophisticated politicians, most notably the Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder, show increasing signs of dissatisfaction. "To continue on the do-nothing course we are on now," one Bonn politician has said, "is not even a policy of the status quo. It is a policy of deterioration."

Erhard is expected to urge greater German overtures to Russia and to explore the potential, both economic and political, of Eastern trade.

While supporting the Franco-German treaty, Erhard has already shown signs of obvious rejection of de Gaulle's concept of a little Europe revolving around a Paris-Bonn "axis." In his first talk to West Germany's military leaders on November 8, he has made it clear that the nation's defense policies were linked with NATO and not with the independent approach favored by de Gaulle. "No such thing as a purely national defense exists any more," he told them. "Defense has become a community task." Similarly, Erhard strongly approves the U.S. proposal for a multilateral nuclear force.

The overwhelming majority of the CDU, notably Foreign Minister Schroeder, as well as a sizable number of the opposition Social Democrats, back Erhard in the concept of a broader Common Market which would include Britain and emphasize ties with the United States, in the interests of what he calls the Atlantic Community. Nevertheless, within his own party he is strongly opposed on this issue by a formidable group, known as the Gaullists, led by none other than Konrad Adenauer, who has become increasingly suspicious of the United States, and including Franz Josef Strauss and the now ailing former Foreign Minister, Heinrich von Brentano.

Erhard will soon have to tackle another very ticklish problem, the explosive agricultural issue, which, according to the Common Market Commission vice-president Sicco L. Mansholt, threatens the very existence of the Common Market itself. Mansholt has said that unless uniform grain prices are agreed upon the Common Market may collapse. While Germany's antiquated agricultural system is propped by high government-protected prices, France has low prices and a surplus production she would like to sell to Germany. Erhard has skirted the issue so far, but unless a settlement is made in the next few months, de Gaulle is quite capable of doing to the Common Market what he did to Britain when it tried to enter it a year ago—squash it.

Meanwhile, *Onkel Ludi* seems to be taking it all in stride. As often as not he even goes home for lunch, to eat his favorite *Pichelsteiner Topf*, a Bavarian stew. "I not only believe I am capable of governing Germany," he said recently, "I am also very happy to have been selected for this purpose."

Song Before Morning

Should quietness excel itself and lie
Like dawn upon the night, where no winds move
And silver-essenced grayness holds the red and rigid rose
To utter stillness in a dewy trance—

Then would your lovely face enjoy similitude
And beauty's lonely search for brief repose
Find echoing and temporary rest
Outside the window of your still, familiar room.

JOHN HAZARD WILDMAN

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THE STAGE

John Whiting's "The Devils"

THE ARENA Theater in Washington has for a long time been one of the scattered oases in the American theatrical Sahara. Never as far out or as aggressive as New York's Living Theatre, and not as skilful or as ambitious as the Actors' Workshop in San Francisco, it has nevertheless been an intelligent, risk-taking organization whose work has always been pitched a good many cuts above that of the usual "little theater" enterprise. After operating on a shoestring and in rather dismal quarters for more than ten years, the Arena opened a handsome 600-seat theater a couple of years ago and now seems to be more or less secure and rooted for the first time in its history.

John Whiting's "The Devils," which the Arena recently produced, is a play with demands a bit too heavy for the group, but they did a creditable job with it. To have tackled it at all is praiseworthy to begin with, since it had not previously been done in America and one would have been skeptical of its drawing power in this period when dramas with religious and mystical themes are acceptable only when they present themselves as historical pageants, like "Luther," or when their mysticism is domesticated and made painless in the manner of Paddy Chayefsky and Archibald MacLeish. Yet the theater was crowded the night I went down to Washington, and I was told that the city was talking about the play and going to see it, though with what degree of understanding and what sort of pleasure it was not possible to ascertain.

One suspects that the Arena had come into a *succés de scandale.* Whiting's play is based on a novel by Aldous Huxley, *The Devils of Loudon,* a fictionalized account of a case of mass hysteria and pseudo-possession at a convent in seventeenth-century France. The stage business that this provides—nuns rolling on the floor in torment, the abbess mouthing blasphemies and obscenities, a forceful scene of exorcism—would have been enough, one imagines, to bring a sensation-seeking audience into the theater. But the play is a great deal more extreme and disturbing than that. One of its themes is the conflict between physical and spiritual love, and one of its central occurrences is the self-proclaimed "marriage" between a priest, the drama's protagonist, and a young girl whose confessor he has been.

Yet the prurient would be well advised to stay away from "The Devils" should it ever be produced again in this country. For Whiting had no sensational purpose in mind, nor any desire to make theatrical capital of the infirmities, historical or otherwise, of priests and nuns. His drama is in the fullest sense a universal one: it is a complex, sometimes brutal and shocking but always beautifully passionate image of faculties and powers in collision with one another, of the body struggling against the spirit and becoming reconciled to it, of lust learning its own nature through sacrifice, and, on a different and more immediate level, of secular authority using religion for the consolidation of its control.

Grandier, the priest who stands at first as an incarnation of lust and pride, is brought to redemptive humility through the irony of being persecuted and tortured for a crime of which he is innocent, that of being the agent of the reputed possession. And it is precisely this irony, that the suffering the world inflicts may have no relation to men's true guilt, that Whiting builds upon in many subtle ways. "How can you be a man of God unless you are a man?," Grandier is asked. "The Devils," with an impressive grandeur of conception and a fusion of sonorous poetry with crisp, colloquial speech, moves through the stages of discovery of what it means to be a man, what it means to face, with unblinking courage and unsentimental endurance, the truth of one's guilt.

John Whiting died last year at the age of forty-seven. "The Devils," which was commissioned by the Stratford-on-Avon Company and first produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company in London two years ago, was his masterwork. For once the plaudits of the press were justified. If it is not a great breakthrough into new dramatic art, the play is as solid, brilliant and inspired a piece of traditional theater as we have had for many years, one point of comparison being Robert Bolt's "A Man for All Seasons," to which it is measurably superior. The Arena people should be congratulated for not having succumbed to one or another of the intimidations in the way of putting it on.

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

Red Hat in the Sunset

IN SPITE OF the build-up given it, "The Cardinal" is not really a controversial film. Among my friends who have seen it at previews, the non-Catholics have been quite impressed—and full well they might be, with the stunning photography, in Technicolor and Panavision, of the inspiring liturgical ceremonies and of the handsome buildings and scenes in Rome and Vienna. Catholics seem to be divided into two camps: those who can take it and those who can leave it. My argument with "The Cardinal" is mainly with the script, which Robert Dozier wrote from the very lengthy novel by Henry Morton Robinson, and which is a rather once-

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over-lightly affair as it relates the story of a priest's rise to monsignor to bishop to cardinal.

From beginning to end, "The Cardinal" is an interesting picture. Otto Preminger, who gave the film its beautiful production and directed its outstanding cast, knows how to keep his viewers engrossed. He may irritate them from time to time by overstating the melodramatics or entertainments designed to pep up the action (like the Ku Klux Klan's brutal beating of the hero-priest, or that completely unnecessary vaudeville scene with Bobby Morse) and by understating vital points that call for more careful development (like the discussion of the craniotomy when the priest's sister is in labor or the Italian cardinal's casual attitude toward the racial question after the Ku Klux episode), but Preminger's movie is never dull. His viewers, longing for a little more depth in characterization, may feel that some of the characters are glossed over as superficially as those in a soap opera; but the fault here again is with the script. Robinson's novel was no great shakes in the first place; and scriptwriter Dozier, though wisely omitting much and making changes, enlarged and added to the original. The film still tries to cover too much, and, as a consequence, it hurries from episode to episode without letting much of anything sink in.

Tom Tryon is fine in the lead role of Stephen Fermoyle; it is a difficult lengthy role in a film covering some twenty years, and if Tryon plays it somewhat blandly, he is always noble; and his gaunt-handsome face ages well through the years. (One recalls with longing at times Alec Guinness' splendid performance in "The Prisoner," in which he also played a cardinal, or Robert Bresson's direction of "The Diary of a Country Priest"—but "The Cardinal" is neither of these films.) The performance that steals the new picture is given by John Huston who turned from his own directing assignments long enough to portray Cardinal Glennon of Boston, a wise and good man who takes an interest in Father Fermoyle, recognizes his problems and needs, and encourages his growth. Huston's portrayal is startlingly real and inspiring.

The very large cast necessarily changes as the story progresses from place to place, and some of the roles, although played by big names, are little more than walk-ons. But several of the characters are handled with effective strength: Burgess Meredith as the dying priest in the episode designed to teach young Stephen humility, Ossie Davis as the Georgia Negro priest in the episode that brings out Fermoyle's forceful stand against racism, Romy Schneider as the Viennese girl who is attracted to Stephen when he is on leave and who is particularly moving in the second Vienna episode years later when Bishop Fermoyle comes to set Cardinal Innitzer (Josef Meinrad) straight. Raf Vallone also stands out as the Vatican cardinal who guides Fermoyle through the years.

The only performance in "The Cardinal" that is really bad is that of Mona Fermoyle, played by Carol Lynley. The fault is not hers. This rising young actress was badly cast in this important role that is also badly written. She falls in love with a Jewish boy (John Saxon) and when he cannot turn to the Church, she seems to feel that their love affair should be condoned. In an utterly implausible confession scene, she tells all to her brother who makes it clear he cannot give her absolution unless she changes her intentions. She storms out of the confessional and the church and then the Church in anger —and never returns. These melodramatics are pure soap opera, but if they were to be included in this worthy film, they certainly needed more handling in the fuller-explanation-department.

As a whole "The Cardinal" is an up-and-down movie. While it glides too fast and often too dramatically over delicate subject matters, it also has its inspiring and moving scenes. And as an entertainment, it deserves commendation. As impressed as you may be by its magnificent sequences of pomp and ritual, you may wonder afterward how a priest rises and becomes a Prince of the Church. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

CORRESPONDENCE

"Harvest of Medieval Theology"

Cambridge, Mass.

TO THE EDITORS: Please do not consider this letter as a reflection on your editorial policy. Just a simple expression of my personal sorrow after reading the book review of George H. Tavard on the publication of Professor H. A. Oberman's, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* [September 6]. The book reviews of The Commonweal are read by a large number of Catholic scholars not necessarily interested in the medieval field, and I am afraid they may get a wrong impression about the objectivity of Professor Oberman or might even accuse him of anti-Catholic feeling.

Readers who are not familiar with the great debate of Nominalism and Realism should not think that by placing Gabriel Biel as a nominalist on a high pedestal Professor Oberman was praising nominalism as "radically non-Catholic." The University of Heidelberg (founded 1385-86) as a reaction against Paris radicals, taught the "via moderna" (nominalism) until 1452 when both ways, nominalism and realism were introduced. In Basel (founded in 1460), Freiburg/Br. (founded 1459) and Tübingen (founded 1477) both realism and nominalism were accepted and these universities excelled with famous and orthodox theologians.

Those not familiar with the history of nominalism

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should feel very grateful for the nominalistic glossary so lucidly compiled by the author.

For the defense of Professor Oberman, with all my love for Avignon, I can say that I was not "irked" reading that he called the Pope's sojourn in Avignon "Babylonian captivity," a common expression widely accepted among historians.

In favor of the Harvard University Press, I would like to add that judging from my experience as an editor I did not find that Professor Oberman's book—XV plus 510 pages plus 3 illustrations and with ample footnotes—was "outrageously priced."

May I respectfully point out that Professor Oberman spells his name with one *n*. Professor Oberman's publication I am sure will be welcomed by medievalists of all faiths. *(Rev.)* A. L. GABRIEL

Charles Chauncey Stillman Guest Professor
of Roman Catholic Theological Studies
Harvard University

"A Disappointing Statement"

Washington, D. C.

TO THE EDITORS: You did an injustice to the Catholic bishops in your editorial "A Disappointing Statement" [November 29]. The Bishops' statement issued on November 17 was not intended to be a discussion of civil rights, in spite of the treatment given it in newspaper headlines. It was primarily an analysis of secularism and moral decay, with the racial issue being but one of many illustrations of this trend. Obviously in such a context, it was not possible to give a full treatment of any issue used as an illustration.

The Bishops did give their views on racial justice in 1958 and in August, 1963. Moreover, scores of them have issued individual statements during the current year. They are participating in interreligious interracial action in nearly sixty cities. They have asked Vatican Council II to issue a clear condemnation of racism. To ignore all these actions and concentrate on incidental phrasing of a statement devoted to a different problem is neither fair to the bishops nor helpful to your readers. *(Rev.)* JOHN F. CRONIN, S.S.

Assistant Director
NCWC Social Action Dept.

Reply

Father Cronin is quite correct in pointing out the various episcopal condemnations of racism. But our editorial did not deny that. Our concern was that the Bishops' statement explained racism in terms of a trend toward "secularism" and "materialism." Such an emphasis ignores the past complicity of the American Church in racism; ignores American history with its acceptance, for generations, of racism; ignores too the fact that believers have no monopoly on opposition to racism. This does not seem to us a matter of "incidental phrasing" on the part of the bishops.

Perhaps the bishops did not intend that their statement be taken as one primarily concerned with racism. But that was surely one of their central concerns—indeed, about the only one which stood out with any clarity in a statement ambiguous in more ways than one. —THE EDITORS

"Freedom of Priests"

West Baden Springs, Ind.

TO THE EDITORS: Daniel Callahan's article on "Freedom of Priests" [October 18] brought to mind Cardinal Cushing's pastoral letter of last April, "The Church and Public Opinion." For a balanced Christian conscience the viewpoints of all the members must be considered. Thus public opinion is not only the right of the individual, but a need of the Church.

A municipal baseball team is often influenced by the patrons. True, they sometimes yell for a scapegoat after a bad season, but their shouts are also those of fans who want a better team.

I applaud the spirit of Mr. Callahan's concern. If seminaries exist to train priests to serve the people of God, it seems only logical that laymen should present their views on how this education is oriented. After all they will entrust the very depths of their being to the product of this education . . . at such an encounter a common language must be spoken.

Granted the fact of the inhabitation of different institutional worlds, any effort to introduce the seminarian into the human family and contemporary society is certainly apostolic. Positive concern to be effective ought to understand the seminary structure. Fichter and William Whyte Jr. both point out the element of bureaucracy as a social phenomenon of our age of increased organizational complexity. This structure must be understood, if freedom to work in it is to be operative. The layman ought to offer opportunities through the proper channels—seminary rectors and professors and Bishops—to acquaint seminarians with problems pertinent to their education. For instance a group of Catholic psychiatrists might offer a workshop, a journal or publishing house might offer a summer job, those connected with urban renewal, interracial councils, city arts programs, nearby universities might offer a formal invitation to participate in their activities. A considered invitation by a sponsored group holds real possibility of profit and lessens the risk of mere divertissement, or wasted time "running around" to see things.

The value of Mr. Callahan's article would seem to be a Socratic one. He is asking questions, raising problems. However, to formulate the problem in terms of discipline vs. freedom, or to suggest that the exalted image of

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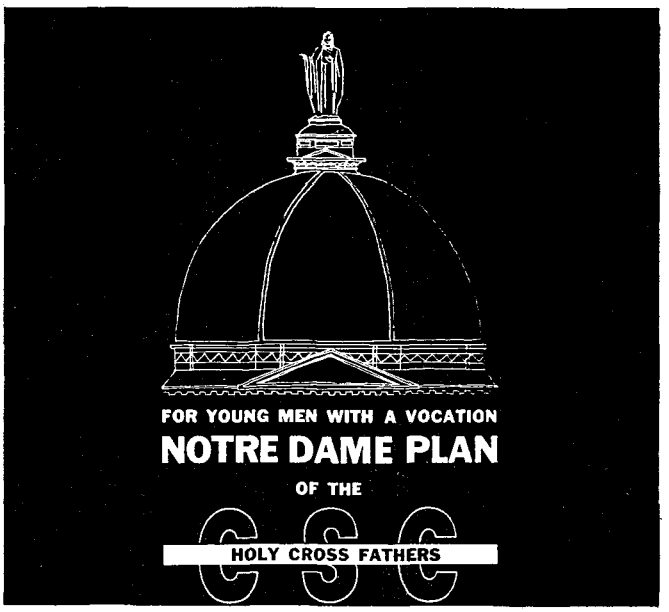

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clerical ascetic superiority in a hierarchical Church is the source of clerical paternalism might be a little simplistic.

Much more might be understood if we see the vacuum the Modernist heresy created in our libraries, the ethnic origin of American Catholics, the middle-class mentality of seminary students and European origins of many seminary ideals.

Also I would offer that rather than the presence and insistence on an "exalted image" of the priesthood there is no image. Bishop John Wright at the First International Congress on Ecclesiastical Vocations suggests that the very lack of perseverance is the loss of the basic sense of vocation. It's not that men forget their call, or that dreams dull but: "The basic sense of vocation which once gave meaning and direction to all walks of life has been a casualty of collectivism, existentialism, and secularism, three of the moods induced by a widespread practical atheism that, forgetting God, undermines the significance of the person and destroys the sense of individual vocation, whether to marriage, to a career or to the priesthood." Add to this the frequent lack of adequate spiritual direction and the scarcity of literature on the idea of the priesthood, you could say that the priest faces the same problem as the layman—he must struggle to answer the question "Who am I in the Church?" Much the same question that haunted Kierkegaard: "What does it mean to be a Christian?"

Mr. Callahan points out the difficulty the young priest has with initiative and personal integrity. Surely we need an approach of openness—freedom to develop. The Grand Inquisitor has been with us too long. However, authority can be made the scapegoat for our own lack of courage to stand up for what we think is right. Yet Mr. Callahan's casting of the problem as freedom against authority can be misleading. The quotes he uses to back authority not only are unqualified, but seem to be descriptive of vowed obedience—a special area. To apply such ideals to disciplinary action and to make them the norm of lay obedience can be misleading. This, though, might be part of the problem. Discipline, functional rulings, organizational techniques are often backed up by the absolutism of the religious ideals of obedience without regard to content or direction of application. The sphere of obedience needs elucidation on both a theoretical and practical level. Certainly it has a place in the Church. Not just to organize better or for a firmer grasp on things, but as a sharing in the redemptive action of Christ's cross in union with the Church. Something done in the spirit of the person before marriage who might say to his partner "I'm yours . . . your dreams are my dreams, I'll try to do what makes you happy." This giving in self-love can never abandon its personal direction to this commitment.

Mr. Callahan concludes with the statement that it is "no longer possible to separate the freedom of the lay-

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man from that of the priest." This is indeed a breakthrough in viewpoint. Just as those who see as no longer adequate the formulation that the area of the priest is with matters of the spirit, the area of the layman the world. Could his statement on obedience be posed in the same way as that of freedom, or is there a particular meaning for clergy and religious that does not apply to laymen? If this is true, would there then be a different synthesis of authority and freedom for each?

DAVID C. PEEBLES, S.J.

BOOKS

A Convulsion of the Native Body and Soul of Spain

One Million Dead. By José Maria Gironella. Doubleday. $7.50.

by Thomas P. McDonnell

BESIDES sheer physical size, the first impression you get upon opening Gironella's *One Million Dead* is its exquisite sense of continuity with the closing scene of the same author's *The Cypresses Believe in God.* The execution, by firing squad, of Cesar Alvear remains, I think, one of the authentically poignant scenes in contemporary literature: "A volley rang out, and Cesar felt something gently pierce his skin. . . . Cesar's eyes closed. He felt a kiss on his forehead. Then his heart closed." Even these fragments still convey to me something of the emotion I felt upon first viewing the execution of the priest in the Italian film "Open City."

The second volume of Gironella's Spanish trilogy opens with the equally poignant incident of Ignacio's search for his brother's body among the piles of unburied corpses in the cemetery at Gerona. He half expects to find an expression of "sweet tranquility" on Cesar's face, but finds it instead disfigured and "a mask of dried blood. . . . So it was possible that a face molded by a fine life could be blasted by a shot between the eyes which would make a monstrosity of it."

This is the suffering body of Spain, to which Ignacio himself would become the frequently confused and embittered, but always sensitive, witness. It is in fact this very sense of all but overwhelming complexity which, I think, places Gironella's fictional/historical account of the Spanish tragedy somewhat above the simplistic though forceful reductions of, say, Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* It would be easy to attribute the Manichean polarities in Hemingway's fiction—that is, *we* are the innocents seeking universal justice while *they* are the inhuman enemy, wholly diabolical and unjust—to both dramatic necessity and the peculiar American disposition to see historical reality in none but the most naive and primitive terms. Even a writer so experienced and sophisticated as George Orwell, in "Looking Back on the Spanish War," could not identify the enemy as anything other than the fascist archetype. But the one side, of course, was no more all-fascist than the other was all-Communist.

Consequently, so far, in *Cypresses* and *One Million Dead*, Gironella seems to me to be writing the great imaginative corrective to our understanding of the Spanish War. It was, after all, a national tragedy in which the filial entanglements were much more severe than in our own Civil War. Groups and counter-groups were woven into the fabric of civil tragedy in a way which only forced most Americans (those who thought of it at all) to project upon it something resembling the myth of the Western hero.

But Ignacio, without either political culpability or dramatic improbability, could move from hostility toward the Republican Loyalists to serving in a Loyalist health unit and then, through the help of an anarchist cousin, cross the lines to the Nationalists. It was that kind of war, and it largely involved that kind of man. In short, an unthinkable scandal to Robert Jordan was plain reality to Ignacio Alvear.

There is no question whatever—and this is what makes the Hemingway-Gironella dichotomy a viable relationship for the American reader—that *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is wholly successful as American fiction. But it is no more Spanish than its ersatz reproduction of the Spanish idiom. It is also pertinent to note that in Gironella's Spanish tragedy there are no great earth-mothers inhabiting the land, but only very human and meanly suffering ones; and the love affairs—what there are of them—seem all but puritanically opposed to describing the geological properties of the sleeping-bag. One suspects, too, that Gironella is having some fun with the fragments of dialogue (in the Hemingway manner, of course) between David and Olga, the husband-and-wife teacher-ideologues, who in a less amusing confrontation with Ignacio, try to win him over to their own venture toward pathetic absurdity. And there are no doubt something more than slight overtones of dramatic critique in Gironella's portrayal of non-Spanish journalists in the semi-caricatures of Fanny and Raymond Bolen, the English and Belgian war correspondents.

This is all to say, I'm sure, that despite the tragico-comical involvements of foreign elements in the Spanish War, it was essentially a convulsion of the native body and soul of Spain. Even the title of Gironella's vast novel, *One Million Dead*, requires some explanation for generations who do not know it as an epithet of world-nostalgia. (Was not, in fact, the Spanish War the last great war of nostalgia that, hopefully, we shall ever know?) In any case, where "this horrible round figure"—overstated by about half—was first exploited to serve one or the other side of propaganda, it has since taken on a metaphorical meaning in order to include the thousands of murdered and exiled and all those who, in one way or another, became the final victims of the Spanish War.

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What other victims? One has only to think, as indeed Gironella does, of Garcia Lorca. One has only to remember the martyrdom of a clergy which could not at the same time cope with the idea and necessity of social revolution, or even relate it to the body of doctrine for which many of its members died. One has only to recall the disenchantment, some several decades later, of men whose gods had perhaps already failed them in the stench of reality that was Spain. I mean, of course, Orwell, Arthur Koestler, Louis Fischer, Stephen Spender, and a whole generation of intellectuals who, as much as the imported German and Italian fascists, accepted the terms of Spain as a stage upon which their own drama—or melodrama—would be enacted. But the Spain that once rang the death knell on Roland's Christian knight-errantry rang it again (how many centuries later?) on the humanistic knight-errantry of the modern idealist *in vacuo*.

The remaining, if not primary, question to ask is whether *One Million Dead* is an achieved novel in the critical sense. Oddly enough, as with Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, I find it a novel more in the nineteenth century tradition than in the explored sensibilities of our own—which is more accurately to say, I suppose, our process-haunted sensibilities. This aside, however, *One Million Dead* is a work of astonishing weight and proportion. Its proportions, in fact, at times become almost too diffuse with their breadth and paratactic changes of scenes and events. But all incident itself becomes the central experience of Spain. Frequently, an all but tentative number of lines can haunt the reader long after they have been absorbed into the larger part of experience—such as the time, for example, the Alvears are on their way to a secretly-held Mass in a Gerona apartment: "As they were going along the Calle del la Barca, they saw a boy writing on a wall: 'Long live me!' "

Finally, then, if Gironella in the third part of his Spanish trilogy can manage to return to perhaps the cleaner, tighter lines of narrative of *The Cypresses Believe in God*, there is little question that he will have produced what we must eventually recognize as a world masterpiece in contemporary historical fiction. As it is, since *One Million Dead* itself may possibly effect a change in some of our literary attitudes to the Spanish War, the achievement is already a considerable one.

A New Look at Andre Gide

Gide. By Germaine Brée. Rutgers University Press. $6.

by George Greene

CYRIL Connolly has said that what makes the writers of the past most vivid is the extent of their misery—the despair of Pascal, the bitterness of La Rochefoucauld, the ennui of Flaubert. At long last, twelve years after his death, the literary Grand Inquisitors may now be willing to grant another hearing to André Gide. Most censures were angrily pressed. Some were even ludicrous, as in the case of the positively "demonic" scent caught by Henri Massis. Gide was no casuistic, sinister Mephistophelean. Limited in his creative resources, assailed by doubts caused by homosexuality, his *oeuvre* chronicles a campaign, camouflaged but desperate, to escape paralysis.

The final mask of Goethe-like expansion, when his imagination failed and the journal assumed major importance, was largely illusory. If some dominant emotion lives at the core of every literary work, in the best of Gide, that note is one of anxiety. His mind swerved compulsively, painfully, trying to bridge the gap between the urbane acceptance of Montaigne and the symbolist gospel of autonomous art, a view drawn from his share, together with Claudel and Valéry, in the circle of Mallarmé. Of the two influences Mallarmé's proved deeper, much as Gide fought to free his mind from images and plunge into daily experience. His program was never that of a logician, but rather a pragmatic experimenter. Notwithstanding one early attack on the literary life in *Paludes*, writing earned his closest, indeed his only, allegiance. The miracle was that he managed to produce in such variety, for his sole subject, really, was his own life.

One may grant less weight to the therapeutic value of Gide than does Miss Brée in this thorough, dispassionate defense. It is a fact that Gide returned again and again to a modest gamut of themes. Yet no one can deny his continuing influence, an influence far stronger than that of his great contemporary, Proust. Miss Bree's account, engaged yet calm, of Gide's preoccupation with technique makes her book both refreshing and absorbing.

Gide cautioned us not to shun insights in a book we may have been taught to consider hostile. ". . . A few ideas of very urgent import and very general interest may nonetheless inhabit it. . . ." His fictions were a laboratory in which he investigated personal impulse. "It is his own works," he wrote, "that the artist must put in order, not the world which surrounds him." For Gide, the world of general affairs hardly existed. His brief liaison with Marxism led to disenchantment. It is his search to avoid tired realism, which he dismissed as "episodism," which remains notably pertinent, often exciting. Not for nothing had he read widely in the English classics—Shakespeare, Blake, Browning, among others. It is easy to trace parallels between Gide's use in the *récit* of events mirrored through a very special kind of mind and the practice of Henry James. One finds a measure of amusement, even, tracking down his gambles. "The real world," he said, "has always seemed to me a little fantastic." Several of his major fictions are riddled with hackneyed devices—letters, soliloquies, mistaken identities. Yet it is amazing how well he managed in what must rank as his major utterance, *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*, to mix control with spontaneity.

Gide is one of the few authors who can talk about "purity" in the novel and not appear condescendingly pious. The journal is there to verify the agonies, the indecision, the sterile months, the penitent return to work after those veiled shouts from

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a private hell. "There are days when I live as in the nightmare of a man walled up alive in his own tomb." His authority is tainted but real: it is that of the craftsman, honest even when crippled. Sometimes the need to believe in his task borders on a cry for help. After World War I he spoke of certain contemporaries as "coasters," not daring to venture forth beyond the shore. This was a decade when both Proust and Joyce were active. Was it this envy, caustic, defensive, in the presence of more spacious achievements that made him call Georges Simenon the greatest novelist of the modern era?

Gide was a living indictment of the consequences of extreme Calvinism. It was his aim to encourage new mental and moral vigor, liberating, sane; yet youths read *Les Nouritures terrestres* as a plea on behalf of license. Gide sought discipline through the conflicts he so doggedly, embarrassingly, related, yet his message more often provoked chaos. The aesthete posited an unwarranted parallel between the life of art and the life of morality. Living well was like making order out of the hodgepodge thrust up by life. One device which disturbs is Miss Brée's constant use of "Gidian," as if that term signified some unprecedented phenomenon. In a very real sense, André Gide was enacting the last stages of the romantic agony.

"Rest was not what Gide craved," Miss Brée explains; "he felt no need for a god of any kind." His career makes some of us uncomfortable in the presence of that conclusion. The fact is that, for Gide, religious experience remained a search, never a solution. In *La Porte étroite* he painted a picture, stifling, horrendous, of one distortion of the Christian ethic. In his references to Christ, Gide clearly implied some superman who would make us recognize that the only possibility for betterment lies within the individual. He enjoyed exposing, simultaneously, both facets of his temperament, penitent as well as Prometheus. "I recognize no authority; and if I did recognize one, it would be that of the Church."

One welcomes the attention, considerable though hardly controlling, Gide will continue to receive. "What our present literature most lacks is heroism," he felt. His own career contained no small portion of that virtue. He anticipated conclusions later adopted by the existentialists. He tried to reconcile his view of the world as basically incomprehensible to the mind of man with his agonizing thirst for order. He exposed the triteness of certain accepted notions and, more serious, the passivity of our mental posture. Yet he ended up by calling nature God. "I remain a child of this world," says his Theseus. The famous candor, one feels, is more appealing in admissions of weakness than in his audacious taunts. "I believe that what most pushed me to write was a pressing need for sympathy," he states in the journal. He was trapped between an inclination to be dogmatic, combined with an insatiable urge toward speculation.

Miss Brée points out how much more comfortable Gide felt in the presence of Greek myth than confronting Christian doctrine. He was forever exploring for lessons applicable to the human condition. Myths helped to clarify that arduous process by which Gide molded himself as well as his works. Yet even here, often, the note of revolt has been too heavily underlined. Surely Gide was following in the wake of numerous French writers, ever since Baudelaire, for whom the image becomes the focal point of all activity. "I was braver in my writing than in my life." One senses Gide's vanity as well as his hunger for attention. No one can doubt the narcissistic vigilance with which he sought to manage his career, and not merely through his contact with the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. Gide knew both the value of words and the drama inherent in shock. Was this, perhaps, what caused him to carry his Bible into those symbolist salons at the age of twenty?

"There is a commitment to noncommitment in Gide. . . ." And Miss Brée links the author in old age with Theseus, renowned, content, as he reminisces about his exploits. There is a measure of comfort in this tableau. It makes for a satisfying apotheosis, classical, cool-browed, almost content.

There is no denying the searching impulse legitimately noted in Gide's athletic mind, one which stirs us, no matter how uncomfortably, in an era when the grimmest seductions come not so much from predatory aesthetes as from collectivistic preachments. Yet the ghost with whom we might better leave Gide is not Theseus, secure, a trifle bland, but rather that warrior who figures in one of the early dramas. With his narrowed eyes and thin lips, he accosts us, mute, a wounded, foul-smelling Philoctetes. We avoid him for a number of reasons, most of them honorable, yet some of the energizing disquiet he so fatally embodies must reach us if we are to survive and, more important, remain truly human at all.

Behind the Diplomatic Scenes

Invisible Latin America. By Samuel Shapiro. Beacon. $3.95.

by Lawrence T. King

"THERE are two (Latin) Americas: the visible and the invisible. The visible (Latin) America . . . of presidents and embassies expresses itself through official organs. . . . This America takes its seat at the conference table of the Pan-American Union and has many votes in the United Nations. And there is the mute, repressed America, which is a vast reservoir of revolution. . . ."

German Arciniegas wrote those words in 1952. Since then, we have learned a great deal about the "invisible" continent to the south. Jolted by the Cuban revolution, newspapers, magazines and television cameras have thrown a probing spotlight on the currents of poverty and squalor—alongside those of wealth and opulence—which feed the reservoir of revolution. Samuel Shapiro, who spent a year in Argentina on a Fulbright teaching fellowship, made several trips to Cuba for a first-hand study of *fidelismo*, and who is now an area studies coordinator for the Peace Corps unit at Notre Dame and

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a visiting assistant professor of history there, has joined the ranks of the political scientists who have made the journey southward. *Invisible Latin America* is his contribution to the growing body of literature on the subject.

The serious student of Latin American affairs will find little that is new in this book—and the author readily admits it—but Mr. Shapiro has succeeded in getting to the heart of complex issues and synthesizing a wealth of information within the brief span of 175 pages. This is no mean achievement, and anyone desiring a short course on contemporary Latin America—and an extremely readable one at that—will find this book worth his attention.

Despite the earlier appearance of much of the material in such publications as *The Nation, The New Republic* and *Commentary,* the book is remarkably well organized. There is an opening chapter on the current situation and another on the stages of Latin-American development in which the continent's political life is delineated into old-style *caudillo* regimes (Guatemala), conservative regimes with some degree of political democracy (Peru), newly-established liberal regimes (Venezuela), revolutionary regimes (Cuba) and post-revolutionary regimes (Mexico) with a separate chapter devoted to each. There is also a chapter on Bolivia, which is regarded as a testing ground for the Alliance for Progress. A concluding chapter on "Facing the Future" suggests policy changes which might be effected to channel Latin America's revolutionary tides toward a free system of political democracy.

Most of these changes have to do with increased and more effective use of U.S. economic assistance; stimulation of Latin-American industry and agriculture through the lifting of tariffs and import quotas and the establishment of a world pricing system that would bring a reasonable and just price for the continent's vital commodity exports; and a more sophisticated and realistic diplomatic approach to the strivings of Latin Americans to become masters of their own political as well as economic destiny.

The program is a pragmatic one, and Mr. Shapiro is undoubtedly right in stating that most authorities on Latin America agree with his consensus. The difficulty, however, of adopting a purely pragmatic approach to Latin America is best exemplified in Mr. Shapiro's endorsement of a birth control program for the continent with the subtle use of U.S. aid funds. The author concedes President Kennedy was correct in saying that "it would be the greatest psychological mistake for us to appear to advocate the limitation of the black or brown or yellow peoples whose population is multiplying no faster than that of the United States." The author also admits that Latin Americans themselves would not take kindly to any *Yanqui* scheme to limit their numbers, and he approvingly quotes a U.N. expert who says birth control cannot be achieved effectively without first effecting a higher standard of living. Yet all this does not deter Mr. Shapiro from recommending use of government funds for this purpose.

The overall program that Mr. Shapiro recommends is a good one, but its implementation will require political skill of the highest order. Adding the contraceptive controversy to the foreign aid bill will not enhance its chances before a hostile Congress. In fact, it could wreck the entire Alliance for Progress, our last hope for bringing order and stability to a continent in ferment.

The Organizational and the Mystical

Religion and the American People. By John L. Thomas, S.J. Newman. $4.50.

by Robert M. Barry

A PUBLIC opinion questionnaire was used by a Chicago marketing and opinion research firm to "investigate the actual religious beliefs of the average American adult." The questionnaire attempted to get at the "operative elements of the major faiths" that are still cherished by their members. This volume is an analysis and interpretation of the questionnaire by the noted Jesuit sociologist Father John L. Thomas.

Much of the context of interpretation, and even the context of the questionnaire, is rooted in a concern with the authenticity of our recent religious revival. Lurking in the background is the question whether religion in America is becoming more secular. The author does not believe that the traditional faiths have been secularized, nor that there is evidence that these religious faiths have become so fused with American democratic values that they may now be classified as cultural religions.

What makes this book so fascinating for me is the continual attempt on the part of the author to set the questionnaire results in that proper context and framework wherein the full meaning will be disclosed. One cannot help but get the impression that it is the completed questionnaire, with all its validity, that is the Aristotelian *tabula rasa* on which the purely objective sociologist writes. The author suggests that a religious system will endure only if it remains creative. But this creative quality is linked with a concept of elite that appears to reveal a thought structure that would narrowly equate the elite with the priesthood or the hierarchy. While it is admitted that historical comparisons are not available for the understanding of American religion, the fuller historical context of the author's thought structure must be seen, in terms of his commentary on the elite, to be operating at a time when there is common suspicion that official sanctity seems to be ascribable only to the originator of a religious order. Using Don Luigi Sturzo's distinction between the organizational and mystical currents in any social group, we would suggest that this volume is written with the presupposition that the major movement within a social group flows from the organizational energy.

Behind the whole context of this volume is the belief that there is a proper and understandable concept of religion that is outside and above the social situation. There appears to

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be very little serious recognition of genuine change, of true development, of growth in depth or expansiveness. One must distinguish, however, between the time-space derivation of an understanding of religion and the new levels and depths that *actual* religious practice involves. Yet once this distinction is made, religion cannot be recognized as being more truly real in the past, with the present practices as derived and purely secondary applications of the past genuine practices. Without ever denying the possibility and actuality of the perversion of religion, the whole judgment must include a recognition that through time and change in society new advances and higher unities are open to achievement, new depths can be enkindled within the person, and new activities can provide greater social expansiveness.

We may take divorce for an example. It is quite proper to be disturbed by a high rate of divorce. A fuller response, however, must include a recognition that with the actual emancipation of women marriage today more truly involves a personal decision. Set over against the recognition of marriage as a purely social function, the enkindling of the personal depth within marriage is truly an advance to a new depth. Any full evaluation of divorce must acknowledge the present situation to involve new achievements as well as distortive elements.

Thus in his attempt to set the questionnaire in context, the author reveals his own sociological thought structure. And, there is every reason to suspect, this thought structure is quite common among Catholic sociologists who, in their genuine battle with philosophers for a place in the academic sun, have moved their own philosophical conceptions into a closeted unconscious. Most Catholic sociologists reveal preferences for the individual, for objectivity, for the past, and for stability. Whereas, there is more than merely suspicions indicating there is no individual without a society, no objectivity without commitment, no past without a future, and stability is merely a relative permanence in the midst of total development.

In spite of the fact that this book is an interesting *mélange* of popular thought structures, in spite of the author's genuine attempt to confront the changing American religious situation and provide a proper context of evaluation, this is not a satisfying book.

REVIEWERS

Thomas P. McDonnell, a frequent contributor to these pages, is a member of the staff of the Boston *Pilot* and the editor of *A Thomas Merton Reader* (Harcourt, Brace).

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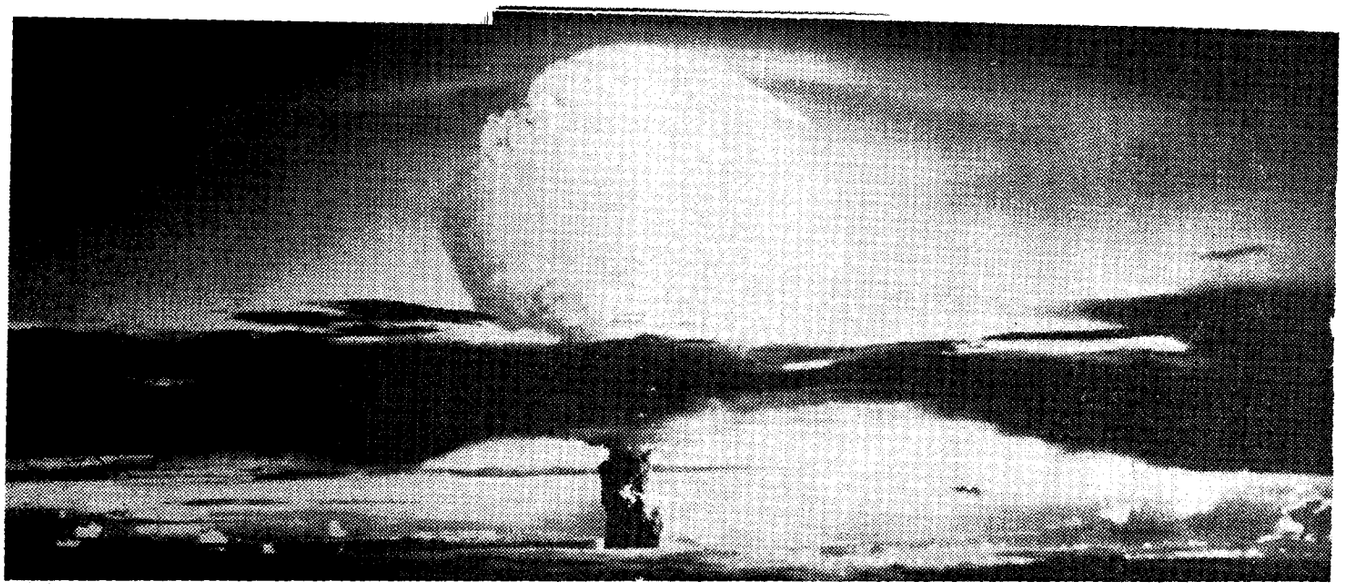

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3. *In the Suez crisis,* war between Egypt and Israel drew in other countries. Russia brandished rockets. But the U.N. helped police a cease-fire with troops from ten small nations.

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